REASONS

FOR

NOT SUPPORTING

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Government Subſcription, &c.

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WITH

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Conduct of Adminiſtration

IN

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WHEN the ſubſcription in aid of Government was permitted by the Houſe of Commons, the reaſon aſſigned for ſo unuſual and unconſtitutional a mode of ſupply was that there were many perſons whoſe taxes would not after all accumulations amount to what they ought to contribute, and that ſome method ſhould be therefore provided to enable them to make up the deficiency. The plan propoſed and adopted was to open books at the Bank for voluntary ſubſcriptions; and in the true ſpirit of the meaſure, receipts, to be taken in payment

of the new duty, were directed to be given to the ſubſcribers, ſo that if any of them ſhould afterwards find that the taxes required of him exceeded his eſtimate and amounted to as much as he could afford to pay, he might not be injured through his willingneſs to contribute in the firſt inſtance to the extent of his ability. This plan authoriſed no ſyſtem of impoſt or collection diſtinct from that of the aſſeſſed tax bill, but formed a ſupplement to it, neceſſary to carry its principle into full effect. We collect from the bill itſelf and ſtill more clearly from the ſpeeches of its authors that its purpoſe was to impoſe a tax upon income, with ſome few exceptions of ten per cent. and that it eſteemed the aſſeſſed taxes to be in general the criterion of expenditure, and expenditure the evidence of income. It was however recollected that many perſons of conſiderable property lived in ſuch a manner as to eſcape thoſe taxes, and that others poſſeſſed ſuch enormous fortunes that all our impoſts on extravagance would not draw from them their proportionable contribution. The ſubſcription was therefore inſti-

inſtituted that patriotiſm might ſupply in the ſpirit what the Legiſlature thought fit to leave wanting in the letter of the law, and that the ariſtocracy might derive an unmerited credit from bearing voluntarily, what if born to the utmoſt degree required or expected of them, would be far leſs than their juſt ſhare of the public burden. But how ſhamefully have even theſe intentions of Parliament been abuſed and perverted by the Miniſter and his underlings! Inſtead of calling only for the hoarded treaſures of the penurious, or the overflowing income of the wealthy prodigal, their demands are made chiefly on the middling and poorer claſſes of the people. They require the brave ſailor and ſoldier to give up a portion of the hardly earned, and certainly not exorbitant pay; and the induſtrious of every deſcription, whoſe wages will barely afford the neceſſaries of life, are aſſailed by them for public alms in the language and countenance not of ſolicitation but of menace. Nay to compleat the meaſure of their contumely to parliament and their inſolence to the country, theſe lawleſs and

ſturdy beggars go prowling about from houſe to houſe to prey upon the very perſons whom the aſſeſſed taxes will ſhortly drive into the ſtreets. Many of theſe new miniſters of finance practice a mode of collection that comes within the legal definition of robbery. They extort from us by putting us in fear. They claim our money as being neceſſary to manifeſt our allegiance, and aſſure us that the time is not far diſtant when all jacobins, (that is all who do not ſubſcribe) ſhall ſuffer the puniſhments due to diſloyalty. Has it not been repreſented in the hireling journals that all thoſe are diſaffected, who do not ſupport the ſubſcription? Do we not hear in the miniſterial circles that violent meaſures will ſhortly be taken againſt all the diſaffected, and that the apartments of the Tower are undergoing alterations to prepare them for the torture of ſolitary impriſonment? In the good times of Britiſh ſpirit ſuch proceedings and ſuch language would have drawn down the ſevereſt animadverſion of Parliament. Miniſters would not then have dared to convert one of the clauſes of a tax bill into

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an inquiſitorial edict. Under our old Conſtitution, the energy of the Houſe of Commons to redreſs the grievances of the ſubject, aroſe from the privilege of granting ſupplies to the Crown, and of this privilege our anceſtors were always extremely jealous. Every Legiſlative Aſſembly, bearing any likeneſs to the once renowned repreſentative of England has felt in the ſame manner. A few years ago, two Noblemen of Hungary were degraded by the States of that Kingdom from the Patrician rank for having promoted a ſubſcription to enable the Emperor and King to proſecute the war with the French Republic. But the proud ſpirit of Britain has departed. The ſervants of the Crown raiſe ſupplies not only without the authority and againſt the avowed intention of Parliament, but uſe a proceſs for collecting them only fit to be adopted by a court of Portugueſe inquiſitors. For myſelf, I would not if poſſible be thus *compelled* to ſupport, however I might approve of the ſubſcription. Since whatever I gave might be imputed to my fears, I ſhall not give any thing.

This

This demand of our money to demonſtrate our allegiance is unneceſſary: for ſurely the ſupport that has already been given to the Government of the King's Miniſters, notwithſtanding all their follies and crimes, is the higheſt proof of the loyalty and implicit ſubmiſſion of the People. Would any but the moſt obedient nation on earth have endured the enormous contributions which have been levied upon us, ſince the war, not to be laid out in procuring any advantage, dominion or renown for ourſelves, but that the privileges of the Nobility and Clergy, the prerogatives of the King, and the powers of his Majeſty's royal and imperial Allies over their ſubjects might be preſerved in full force?

The pecuniary criterion of loyalty would be ridiculous if any new criterion were requiſite. The ſailor and ſoldier may ſubſcribe to avoid the cat-o'nine-tails or extraordinary duty, the tradeſman to keep his cuſtomers, the artiſt to gain the favor of a patron, and the domeſtic ſervant leſt he ſhould loſe his place. The oſtentatious will contri-

contribute, to diſplay their wealth, the cringing to pleaſe their reputed ſuperiors, the cautious to avoid ſuſpicion, the daſtardly becauſe they fear to avow their ſentiments, and the unthinking maſs becauſe it is the faſhion to ſubſcribe. Perhaps not one out of a thouſand will ſubſcribe through mere Loyalty. In ſuch times as theſe it was highly impolitic to demand any new teſt whatever of that virtue, as if apprehenſions were entertained that it was not general amongſt us. Miniſters have acted in this inſtance with their uſual ſtupidity and have had their uſual ſucceſs. Admitting the juſtneſs of their mode of aſcertaining political opinions we are a moſt diſaffected people; for notwithſtanding all the bold felonious threats, and all the mean artifice and contemptible trickery uſed on the occaſion, a great majority of us have not ſubſcribed at all. Mr. Pitt may therefore conſole himſelf with the reflection that the faſhionable loyalty, (or a blind and ſlaviſh confidence in his adminiſtration,) is confined to the virtuous few.

There

There are much ſtronger reaſons than any I have yet adduced which lead me to diſapprove of the Government ſubſcription. I abhor even the idea of giving any voluntary ſupport to an abominable ſyſtem. The Houſe of Commons ſhould refuſe to grant ſupplies if they knew they would be wickedly or inefficaciouſly applied. How much more cautious ſhould we be out of doors, in granting pecuniary aid to the Crown, when we are not called upon to do ſo by any conſtitutional duty! Nothing ſhould induce us to volunteer our property in this manner but the cleareſt certainty that what we gave would be applied to promote the freedom and general welfare of our Country. I will not, for my part, contribute to pamper uſeleſs and extravagant clerks, and plundering commiſſaries, and ſwindling contractors, and thieving barrack-maſters, and perjured ſpies, and aſſaſſin libellers and all that idle, prodigal, pernicious, poiſonous, infamous train that miniſter to corruption. If the objects of Government were laudable and purſued with œconomy, we might overlook all objections to the ſubſcription. But

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will men in their ſenſes uphold a ſyſtem of perſecution, peculation, and everlaſting war? Shall we unfetter the arm that is uplifted to cruſh us? Shall we brace the ſinews of corruption? Shall we furniſh it with weapons to be turned againſt ourſelves? Shall we beſtow upon it the means of depraving our fellow citizens? Shall we pamper its abandoned Miniſters? Shall we part with the earnings of our induſtry that the ſalaries of Mr. Lynam and Mr. Walſh be not in arrear nor their perquiſites diminiſhed?—Perhaps ſome of the very men who are gorged with luxury while the people ſtarve, are now celebrating one of their drunken feſtivals, and roaring out in exultation at our folly and deluſion; "The Swiniſh multitude "are our own. Every thing hoſtile to our "glorious cauſe will be trampled down un-"der their beaſtly hooves." It is impoſſible to ſpeak or think with temper of the preſent Miniſters. They ſay 'The Country is in peril—her finances are ruined—ſubſcribe or ſhe is undone!' And yet at the moment when they thus urge us to contribute towards her relief, they are themſelves

ſquandering

ſquandering away her fortune with unbounded prodigality. It is to ſupport themſelves in this profuſion and not to defend the Empire that they ſolicit ſubſcriptions or that ſubſcriptions are neceſſary. Without one ſhilling of the million that will probably be levied on the fears or folly of the people in this mode, the moſt vigorous hoſtilities might be proſecuted, and every exigency of the public ſervice ſupplied. Nothing more need be done for thoſe purpoſes than to retrench uſeleſs and enormous ſalaries, perquiſites and penſions. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, with a ſuite of mercenary ſtateſmen whoſe names and deſcriptions according to the places they hold, would fill all the pages of this work, though printed in the ſmalleſt type, cry out that the Country is threatened with chains, our religion with proſcription and the whole civilized world with ruin; yet moſt of them are at this moment ſo ominous and fatal, ſcrambling for opportunities of peculation as in times of profound peace and teeming proſperity. Inſtead of diminiſhing the expence of their princely houſehold eſtabliſhments, which are

ſupported

ſupported by the Treaſury, and of returning what might be ſaved into its coffers, they call on the haraſſed and diſtreſſed citizen to allot a portion of his ſcanty means for the ſupply of thoſe exigencies of the ſtate which their own extravagance has occaſioned. If ſtrength, if courage, if enterprize are wanting for our defence, they will be furniſhed by the people. But if more money is requiſite, let it be taken from the ſuperfluities of the rich, and chiefly from thoſe of that claſs whoſe wealth is derived from the public revenues. But when Mr. Dundas, the Marquis of Buckingham, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Lewis, and all that kind of gentry demand that we ſhould voluntarily pay towards their luxurious ſupport; the annals of impudence contain nothing to parallel their effrontery.—Do the expences of the ſtate exceed its income? Diminiſh thoſe expences where they may be diminiſhed without injury to deſerving individuals. Does the income ſtill fall ſhort? Let the large ſalaries and penſions be ſtill further reduced, and if afterwards the neceſſities of the commonwealth continue, let all the citizens be called upon to contribute

bute in their due proportions. But he who *voluntarily* contributes, as in the preſent inſtance when no effectual meaſures of retrenchment have taken place, and when the moſt laviſh profuſion exiſts in every political department, is guilty in my opinion of the moſt abject folly. With little comparative intereſt in the conteſt, he bears the brunt of the battle, whilſt thoſe whoſe cauſe he is fighting, ſlink into the rear, determined to enjoy all the advantages without undergoing any of the toils or riſking the dangers of victory. To drop the metaphor; the very men whom his money will maintain in luxury and power, will ſmile in ſcorn when they read his name in their liſts. They may exclaim "Here is another blockhead who labours for us: he parts with the fruit of his induſtry that we may loll at eaſe in our elegant receſſes or be drawn luxuriouſly in our gilded chariots: he deprives himſelf and his family of bread or of ſome pitiful comfort that our ſplendid palaces may raiſe their turrets to the clouds, that delicious villas may be ſcattered through every beautiful and romantic part of the Iſland to miniſter

ter to our health and pleaſures, and that our tables may be ſpread with every ſumptuous decoration and ſerved with every coſtly viand." None of theſe gentlemen ſhall deride me. Not one farthing will I give to any Teller of the Exchequer or to any of the other ſtate hypocrites, who, if they were ſerious in their repreſentations of the danger of the Country, would, on their own account be ready to give up not only the fruits of their peculations, but part of their private fortunes for its defence.

But I ſhall be told that many of thoſe perſons who fatten, it is confeſſed, on the ſpoils of honeſt induſtry, have themſelves ſet us the example of liberal ſubſcription. This I admit entitles them to the credit due to thoſe who would give a few months purchaſe to preſerve a fee ſimple or a life eſtate. But if every one of our bloated placemen were to give up the whole income of his public robbery *for a time*, I ſhould not be inveigled to ſubſcribe. Such contributions do not proceed from patriotiſm, nor any honeſt or liberal motive. They are meant

as decoys, and their only object is that the ſyſtem of ſtate-plunder may be better ſupported in future, and handed down pure and entire to the grantees and deſcendants of the peculators. It is evident that great exertions and ſacrifices muſt be made for ſeveral years to prevent our finances from becoming dangerouſly embaraſſed. In this ſituation of things every honeſt man who received a large ſalary or penſion from the public would himſelf deſire that it might be reduced *permanently*, inſtead of mocking the Country with a temporary relinquiſhment of a portion of his undeſerved gains that he might hereafter enjoy the whole in ſecurity. He would ſay 'the Nation is unable to maintain its preſent eſtabliſhment—let it be retrenched; the finances will be relieved and affairs may go on well.' If then he contributed any thing to the State out of his private fortune or the juſt reward of his ſervices, he might be entitled to the praiſe of liberality.

The circumſtances attending Mr. Tierney's motion reſpecting the fees of Tellers

of

of the Exchequer, place the patriotiſm of our penſioned ſubſcribers in a clear light. The Houſe of Commons, it will be remembered, were of opinion that no uſual perquiſite ſhould be aboliſhed or leſſened, although the new finance ſyſtem, which was ſaid to be occaſioned by the danger of the Country, would give enormous and unheard of perquiſites to ſeveral perſons in office. Their claim however was not to be queſtioned.—It was conſidered as a fundamental part of the law of the land, altho' not authorized by any thing ſimilar in former times. Yet in the very act that cauſed the diſcuſſion the old law of the land reſpecting agreements was altered in favour of the wealthy. Our legiſlating landlords enacted that the aſſeſſed tax duty ſhould be paid by the occupiers and not by the landlords of houſes, *any previous bargain or agreement relative to taxes to the contrary notwithſtanding.* Whatever might be the poverty of the tenant, the vulgar rules of juſtice were ſet aſide leſt the landlord ſhould be ſmartly taxed; but whatever might be the wealth of a Teller of the Exchequer or the preſſing diſtreſs of the pub-

lic ſervice, the rules of juſt taxation were violated and old cuſtoms extended by a forced analogy, to augment his perquiſites at the public expence. But the affair making great noiſe and occaſioning loud complaints, the principle gentlemen concerned comes forth reluctantly at laſt, with great ſelf importance amidſt the trumpetting of his party, and offers towards the defence of the Country *the odd ten thouſand pounds which he would derive from its diſtreſs*.—Shall we be ſtupid enough to thank him for this donation? What does he give? Nothing that of honeſt right belongs to him. He gives the money of the Nation which its guardians ſhould have appropriated directly to its uſe. He muſt be feeble in underſtanding and of deplorable credulity who is deceived by ſuch wretched artifices. The moſt noble Marquis has ſaid to us plainly, "I'll give up to you part of the profits of my ſinecure for one or two years, provided I may be allowed to receive the whole again when peace returns. Do not imagine that I ſhall relinquiſh any uſual or extraordinary fee, or diminiſh in the leaſt the *capital* of corruption

tion. A little of the produce you may have for a ſhort time to appeaſe your clamours and induce you to lend your aſſiſtance to ſupport for ever our Grand Stock and Bank of peculation." The whole affair of this Nobleman's ſubſcription may be thus plainly ſtated:—One of the richeſt men in England has not given a ſhilling of his property to defend the Country, but has merely declined accepting a ſum to which there is only one Legiſlature in the world, (I beg pardon of the Iriſh Parliament,) that would have given him any title.—The caſe of this noble perſonage is with trifling variations that of almoſt every place and penſion-ſubſcriber in the liſts.

In ſome of theſe ſubſcriptions we are aſtoniſhed at the magnitude of the ſums: a proof indeed, not of the patriotiſm of the ſubſcribers, but of the flagrant enormity of their peculations.—When the firſt National Aſſembly of France were enquiring whether the French Nation ſhould reſume the lands of which the rents had been allotted for the maintenance of the clergy, theſe pampered

hypocrites in a phrenzy of apprehenſion for their wealth, offered a gift to the State of ſeveral hundred millions: But the Aſſembly, inſtead of beſtowing ſenſeleſs applauſe upon this convulſive effort of Eccleſiaſtical avarice, were ſtruck at the immenſity of the propoſed donation, and enquired minutely into the funds from which it could be drawn. Finding them to be, like the perquiſites of a Tellerſhip, of outrageous magnitude, they wiſely appropriated them to the Nation, and allowed their former poſſeſſors moderate yet ſufficient annuities for their ſupport.

But let us not be too liberal either of our praiſe or our cenſure of the perſons whoſe names appear in the liſts of ſubſcription.—The greater part of the noble, eccleſiaſtical, and wealthy ſubſcribers have only anticipated their payments of the aſſeſſed taxes.—Some may have paid rather more than they would have been obliged to pay. Of theſe a ſcore or half an hundred may have contributed a full tenth of their income, according to the ſpirit of the act; and a few of that number may have been well meaning dupes.

But

But the great body of the ſubſcribers, whoſe names and donations are trumpetted forth ſo loudly, impoſe upon the public while they affect to give an unconſtitutional ſupport to the worſt of miniſters. A few, (very few) of them violate the ſpirit of the law in giving what they ought not to give: but a large majority aſſume a falſe and fraudulent credit, and are guilty of a ſcandalous impoſition in preſenting to the public as a gratuitous donation what they would otherwiſe be compelled to pay as a tax. The principal part of the ſubſcriptions, excluding the anticipated payments of the aſſeſſed taxes, comes wholly from the middling and poorer claſſes of the people.

Is there a man ſo ignorant of the hiſtory of theſe times as to ſuppoſe that the money he might ſubſcribe would procure, or tend to procure, any one good object? Would it obtain peace or reform? Reform is out of the queſtion under the miniſtry of Mr. Pitt; and as to peace, he tells us he has ſued for it three times unſucceſsfully. What hopes then can we have of him in future? He

has never conducted the war with vigor nor ſought for peace with ſincerity. Let not thoſe who are deſirous of peace give a ſhilling to ſupport miniſters who have ſo repeatedly ſhewn that they are unable to obtain peace. Let not thoſe who are friends to the war ſupport a Government whoſe imbecility is as notorious as their implacable hatred to freedom; who have not yet ſtruck a blow that has made their enemy wince; who have not purſued one hoſtile meaſure that has not been productive of ruin to ſome ally, and aggrandizement to that mighty commonwealth that awes the Kings of Europe with its power, and fills the world with its renown. It is evident we have entruſted the proceſs of this high appeal to corrupt or incapable agents. Let us pay the coſts no further. We have no chance of ſucceſs in ſuch a cauſe. We are ſwelling our bills without a proſpect of gaining the day. We are but throwing good money after bad.

A meaſure ſimilar to that which forms the ſubject of theſe reflections, was adopted during

during the American war, and vigorouſly oppoſed by the patriots of the day; by Mr. Wyndham, among others. He has ſince avowed that his oppoſition proceeded from a determination to counteract to the utmoſt the purpoſes of the Government*, and to throw every poſſible embarraſſment in their way. He deſerves the higheſt praiſe for this conduct. But, great God! if it were laudable to counteract our Government in the American war, would it not be flagitious guilt to ſupport them voluntarily in their preſent conteſt againſt every thing that is dear to mankind? Bad as the American war was, it was the ſcuffling of children for playthings, compared with this dreadful conflict. The conduct of the American war was mercy and generoſity compared with the ſyſtem that has been purſued in Ireland. In the utmoſt heat of hoſtilities we treated the coloniſts as men, and gave them the rights of civilized warfare. There were among

* See the Houſe of Commons' Debates on the ſubſcriptions in 1794.

them

them no nobility, no ariſtocracy, no infernal eccleſiaſtical monſters to hunt the people to death: But let us turn to Ireland; a name which now calls up ideas that make the ſoul ſhudder. Almighty God! who would not to the utmoſt of his power counteract, defeat, and deſtroy the purpoſes of thoſe who inflict upon our brave, deſerving fellow-citizens every degrading and excruciating torment? Who but monſters like themſelves would give them voluntary ſupport? Of every ſhilling that is ſubſcribed, ſo much as can be ſpared by the peculators may be laid out for the deſtruction of Ireland. Before we give the means of power to any one, let us well conſider what uſe will be made of it. For my part, if I had no conſtitutional objection to the mendicant ſyſtem of Finance; and if I were willing beſides, to ſtint or ſtarve myſelf that a few great Lords might wallow in luxurious abundance, I ſhould hold myſelf deteſtable in my own eſtimation, infamous in the eyes of my country, and condemned at the Tribunal of God, if I voluntary contributed the

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ſmalleſt mite in aid of that ſyſtem which deſpiſes, inſults, plunders, exiles, and tortures our brethren, and prepares for themſelves and their poſterity, as a nation, everlaſting wretchedneſs and abaſement. I ſhould conſider that I was intentionally guilty of every crime perpetrated by the inſtruments of thoſe whoſe power I endeavoured to ſupport. In great offences our law has wiſely ordained that the puniſhment of the perpetrator and the abettor ſhall be the ſame. They are both equally guilty before the tribunal of conſcience. Let any man reflect on the multitude and atrociouſneſs of the crimes that have been committed and are continued to be committed in Ireland, and if then he can walk with a firm ſtep to ſubſcribe for the ſupport of Government and pay down his money without ſhuddering when he recollects the purpoſes to which it may be applied, I own he has a ſpecies of fortitude which I wiſh none of my friends to poſſeſs. Yet if he would but allow himſelf to think freely we ſhould have no reaſon to envy him his wakeing or his ſleeping thoughts. Let him array before his

his imagination the thouſands of children, females, and other helpleſs perſons that are driven from their cottages, weeping for their murdered or exiled relations, periſhing in famine and nakedneſs, imploring in vain the compaſſion of their mercileſs oppreſſors, expiring perhaps under their rage or luſt.—Let him ſee the learned, eloquent, and courage ou champions of liberty confined in peſtilential dungeons till their lives are waſted and incurable diſeaſes have ſettled upon them; let him behold the burnings, the picketings, the ſtripes, the ſtranglings, and all the other tortures that are inflicted upon them; let him conjure up before his eyes the fierce and raging blood-hounds as they are hunting through the once peaceful villages for prey and carnage, and ſcowling through the dungeons of the perſecuted to glut their fury on their defenceleſs captives; let him ſee the inhabitants of whole villages conſigned over without being convicted, arraigned, or even examined as to their imputed delinquency, to the deſpotic cruelty of captains of men of war—let him hear of *the Walking Gallows**;

lows;* the atchievments of General ——— at Belfaſt and other places, and the unparalleled

* A tall, ſtrong officer of one of the Iriſh Militia regiments is termed the walking gallows from the following circumſtance: Wiſhing one day to inflict the uſual torture of ſtrangulation on a perſon of middling ſtature, ſuſpected of being a friend to Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, and finding no ſuitable apparatus at hand, he took off his ſword belt, put one end of it round the neck of his priſoner, attached the other end to his own arm and thus ſuſpended him for a conſiderable time. When he was let down, and had recovered from the torture, he was lodged in priſon, *indicted, convicted, and condemned capitally*, (but I muſt add for the honor of our nature not executed) on the evidence of this very ingenious hangman who on the trial confeſſed the fact as above ſtated. The judge obſerved in his charge to the Jury that, 'this proceeding of Mr. H— was, to be ſure, *irregular*, but great allowance ſhould be made for the ardor of a gallant young officer who had on various occaſions rendered diſtinguiſhed ſervices to his Country.'

Another exploit of this gallant warrior was as follow: He cauſed three cottagers to be torn from their wives and ſhot in their preſence. He then tied each of the corpſes to one of the relatives of the deceaſed, flung the whole into a cart, took them to a neighbouring town, ordered the other three to be ſhot, and then threw the ſix bodies on the market place, forbidding any

leled abominations of thoſe inſtruments of Hell, who ſcandalize religion and blaſpheme

any one on pain of death to inter or remove them.—They lay in this manner until the dread of infection induced the gallant Officer to permit *ſome women* to give them the rights of ſepulture.

General ——— who commanded for ſome time at Belfaſt, amuſed himſelf one day by having an united Iriſhman flogged. But enraged at finding that a quarter of an hour's torture could not draw from his priſoner a tear or a groan, he called a perſon remarkable for his dexterity in the uſe of the cat-o'nine-tails and offered him a crown 'if he could flog the rebel ſo as to make him cry out.' The offer was accepted, and the new executioner, having firſt cut off the hair of the ſufferer, plied the inſtrument of torture ſo ſkilfully about his neck and breaſts that he ſuccceded in a little time according to the General's wiſhes and was faithfully rewarded with the ſtipulated gratuity.

To relate one tenth of the enormities of this kind that havé been perpetrated, would ſwell this little pamphlet to an enormous volume. Thoſe who wiſh for a more copious detail of facts will find it in an able work entitled 'A View of the preſent State of Ireland,' publiſhed by Jordan:—Let Lord ——— ſmile at theſe atrocities, but let every honeſt man ſhudder at the idea of bringing the guilt of them on his own head, by voluntarily ſupporting the Adminiſtration by whom they are permitted.

every

every thing ſacred by ſtyling themſelves the Miniſters of God;—let him think of the multitudes who in the obſcurity of the night are dragged from the boſoms of their families, crammed up into damp and filthy dungeons and drawn forth only to be tortured or executed without a trial, an hearing, or even the common forms of judicial murder—let him ſuppoſe a patrole of ſoldiers going their rounds, with an ignorant, inſolent, brutal monſter at their head, entering his Houſe with menaces and deriſion, commanding him to deprive himſelf of the converſe of his friends, forcing him perhaps to abandon a dying infant, inſulting his wife or daughter with obſcene language and rude action—let him ſee the ſanctuary of the laws violated, the ermined miniſters of juſtice vying with the blood-hound, trading ruffians in ferocity, and in contempt of the laws of God and Man—let him, in a word, imagine one enormous charnel houſe, one extenſive ſcene of oppreſſion, deſolation, deſtruction, torture and maſſacre—let him ſuppoſe all theſe horrors brought home to his own door, and let him ſupport if he can thoſe by whom they are perpetrated, or permitted.

Whoever

Whoever joins in the ſubſcription certainly ſupports theſe great criminals in their guilt. His contribution implies that he approves of their conduct. Taxes we are *compelled* to pay, and therefore no imputation can thence be affixed upon us, on account of the ſyſtem which they ſupport, *provided we uſe every lawful exertion to procure a better one.* But when we *voluntarily* ſubſcribe for the aſſiſtance of miniſters we inſtantly participate in their criminality or their merit. We are volunteers in the cauſe, and if it be a bad one we have no excuſe.

On occaſions of this kind, we hear it often ſaid; "my efforts are of little avail: Nothing that I could give or withhold would make any change in ſyſtems or parties." If ſuch reaſoning were admitted to be true, it would put an end to all virtuous ſtruggle and heroic enterprize. But it is falſe;—fundamentally falſe. In times like theſe the conduct of every individual is of importance. The boldneſs or puſillanimity, the ardour or indifference of one man may be

be communicated to a whole city or aſſembly, and their example may be followed by a whole nation. Effects of the moſt tremendous magnitude ſometimes proceed from cauſes apparently inefficient. The thoughtleſſneſs, folly or perfidy of a ſingle ſubſcriber may miſlead thouſands, and the energy with which one decided and patriotic individual may raiſe his voice in ſupport of truth, may arreſt that frantic yet deſpairing ſpirit which appears to urge ſo many perſons to contribute towards the ruin of their country.

If the rich man ſubſcribes, he is held up by the Junto as an example of generoſity: if the poor man gives his mite, he is applauded for diſintereſtedneſs; the cauſe of the Miniſter is repreſented as the cauſe of the Country, and the poor as well as the rich are ſaid to be zealous in its ſupport. (By the way, the extravagant joy of the hireling libellers when any thing is contributed by the poor, and the quantity of words and cant ſophiſtry they uſe to ſhew that the poor are intereſted in the preſent order of things, as eſtabliſhed by Mr. Pitt, give room for ſuſpicion that the maſters of theſe mercenaries are themſelves aſtoniſhed the

poor ſhould ſubſcribe at all, and apprehenſive they do not think their welfare is identified with the continuance in office of the preſent adminiſtration.) The popularity which this ſubſcription, if it ſhould become general, may give the Miniſter and his meaſures, would be the greateſt evil it would produce. Many perſons who have thoughtleſsly ſubſcribed, no doubt abhor thoſe meaſures; but do they not ſee that ſince their ſubſcriptions are conſidered as a teſt of their devotion to miniſterial politics, they will have contributed, by their imprudonce, to give the ſubſtantial ſupport of popularity to a moſt abominable ſyſtem? Let us be deluded no longer. Let not our attachment to our country render us the inſtruments of its ruin. If we be not on our guard againſt the Miniſter's cunning, he will inveigle our nobleſt affections into the ſervice of the worſt cauſe; he will make our beſt paſſions ſubſervient to his own ruinous ambition. Unleſs we divorce him from the State, it will be undone by the alliance. He muſt be vexed, annoyed and embaraſſed before the ſeparation can take place. Let us at all events do nothing that may prolong an union which has been pro-

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ductive of ſuch dreadful misfortunes. If it continue another year I am convinced the Britiſh Empire will fall, and that the vengeance of the whole Republican world, of which Ireland and Scotland may then poſſibly form a part, will be directed againſt this devoted land.

It may be aſked, ſhall we not defend the Country, if it is in danger, however abominable may be the Miniſter and however iniquitous his general ſyſtem?—If there be any truth in what I have hitherto maintained, the money we might now give would not contribute to the defence of the Country, but would make its ſlavery and downfall certain. It would be employed not againſt our Enemies but againſt our friends; not to protect the independence, but extinguiſh the liberty of the Empire; not to preſerve its integrity but to occaſion its diſmemberment; not to procure peace or œconomical reform, but to eternize the war and the funding ſyſtems. Our contributions would be employed to abuſe and rail at, rather than to beat the enemy. The enemy that miniſters fear moſt is at home; (I mean the enemy of their ſyſtem of coer-

cion and corruption.)—With all our preſent magnificent parade, what are we doing? Dragooning the defenceleſs peaſantry of Ireland; holding the terrors of military execution over Scotland, and even threatening this Country;—but not touching the French Republic. Whilſt that mighty State has been adding fortreſs to fortreſs, and annihilating kingdoms by its decrees, we have been lying upon our inglorious arms, or uſing them only for the moſt deteſtable purpoſes.

Conſidering the ſyſtem that is purſued in Ireland, I would as ſoon have ſubſcribed in aid of Robeſpierre and the reſt of the exterminating Decemvirs. Nay I think the French deſtroyers were leſs abominable than thoſe of Ireland. They were ruffians by profeſſion: but their imitators affect juſtice and humanity in the midſt of their moſt atrocious exceſſes:—The former laughed to ſcorn all law: The others pretend the higheſt veneration for it. The Gallic murderers were avowed atheiſts, and at leaſt brought no odium on religion by their conduct: but their diſciples in Ireland kill, burn and deſtroy in the name and

for

for the honour of the Chriſtian Church. It may be doubtful which of the gangs committed the moſt extenſive miſchief; but the hypocritical one is certainly the more odious. Can we wonder then that Ireland is ſaid to be diſaffected? Would it not be miraculous if ſhe were otherwiſe? Would not her people be abject beyond the ordinary degradation of thoſe who have been ſlaves from infancy, if they bore any love to their preſent maſters? Is it not to be apprehended that they would hail an army from France or an army from Hell as deliverers, if they are not inſtantly reſtored to their rights? What were the ſufferings of the people of England under James the Second when they flocked to the ſtandard of the Prince of Orange, compared with thoſe of our Iriſh brethren at the preſent time? Engliſhmen, be cautious. You have already injured your character, and with it the ſecurity of your darling wealth. No people of Europe have ſupported their Government in this cruſade ſo warmly as you have done yours. Let your future conduct, (loyal though liberal,) make the paſt forgotten. Do not volunteer yourſelves for the deſtruction of your brethren. Do not

contribute towards the extermination of a country that has ſo long augmented your dominion and maintained your glory. You have been too long indifferent ſpectators of crimes which you might have prevented. Perhaps it is not yet too late to interfere. Loſe not a moment in retrieving your honor. Fly to the foot of the throne with your earneſt yet dutiful entreaties. Implore your moſt gracious Sovereign, and call upon your repreſentatives as loudly and importunately as your laws will permit, for the deliverance of Ireland. Your Miniſters have wronged her. You have wronged her in being the inſtruments of oppreſſion. Think of the enemies that ſurround you, and beware of adding another to the number. Think of your commerce, the ſpring of your proſperity, and the ſource of your greatneſs. Save Ireland or you are loſt yourſelves; for before God, if you ſuffer the preſent ſyſtem to be continued there, without remonſtrance or petition on your part, there will an enemy ſoon come againſt you more terrible than any you have had yet to contend with; there may riſe out of the graves of my murdered countrymen a ſpirit that will appal the ſtouteſt of your hearts,

hearts, and diſturb you to the laſt hour of your national exiſtence.

Every argument of intereſt and honor, of policy and juſtice that diſſuades us from abetting the criminal meaſures of adminiſtration by giving our money for their ſupport, would urge us to contribute to the relief of our brethren of Ireland. In the one caſe we act in a manner hardly conſtitutional at beſt; in the other the legality of our conduct would be indiſputable. In the former inſtance, we may be pampering the proud and inſolent oppreſſor; in the latter, we ſhould afford relief to the neceſſities of men who are ſuffering in the cauſe of liberty. In the one caſe our contributions may exaſperate our brethren againſt us, as manifeſting our approbation of the conduct of their tyrants; and may thus occaſion the diſmemberment and downfal of the Empire. In the other caſe, whatever we gave would be conciliatory; would prevent the injurious conſequences of the meaſures of adminiſtration, and would tend to unite the affections and efforts of all the citizens of the Empire, and thus render it invincible.

The diſtreſſed citizens of Ireland, for whom a ſubſcription ſhould be immediately inſtituted, are ſuffering in our cauſe; in the cauſe of Parliamentary Reform.—But the ſuccceſs of any cauſe depends much upon the fortune of thoſe who ſupport it. If we abandon in misfortune the courageous champions of our rights, and the rights of mankind, we ſhall repreſs the ſpirit of virtuous enterprize in this country and every part of the world. Who ſhall fight for us if our wounded ſoldier is ſuffered to periſh for want? The combined Kings of the Continent have ruined themſelves and their cauſe by abandoning the defeated royaliſts;—by refuſing aſſiſtance or ſupport to thoſe who were beggared and exiled on their account. Let us not be thus baſe and unwiſe. Let us cheer the ſucceſsful and relieve the unfortunate among our friends. Let us rejoice with each other in victory and conſole each other in defeat. Let us not ſuffer our courageous advocates, the advocates of Ireland, of Scotland, of England, of the whole world, to pine in poverty. Let us all unite as brethren. Away with all vile nationalities;—all circumſcribed patriotiſm. A new era is arrived. The world muſt

ſpeedily

ſpeedily be emancipated or in bondage. There are now but two great parties, thoſe who would be tyrants and thoſe who would be free. Let Engliſhmen and Iriſhmen baniſh the prejudices that keep them aſunder.—How painful is it to me to hear ſome of my countrymen breathing vengeance againſt the whole Engliſh nation. They have had indeed great provocations; but let them be aſſured that the ſound and wiſe part of this people are their friends, and the friends of univerſal lawful emancipation. Let them reflect on the multitudes of their own fellow citizens, (or fellow *ſubjects* in more correct language) who have acted as traitors to their country, and to the reſt of mankind. What would they ſay if the perfidy of theſe monſters were to draw a general anathema on the Iriſh name and devote the whole Iriſh nation to deſtruction?

Once more; let us unite in the bonds of friendſhip, and make a common cauſe with all the real friends of the human race. Why ſhould any difference of opinion on ſpeculative points produce animoſities between the advocates of freedom? Our religion

ligion never flouriſhed ſo much as when its various ſectaries were mild and forbearing with each other; and never was ſo much injured and ſcandalized as by their feuds and mutual perſecutions. The cauſe of reform will certainly be affected in the ſame manner. But I truſt there is no reaſon at this time to apprehend any fatal diſſentions among its friends. The decided and patriotic conduct of Mr. Fox and the reſt of the virtuous minority by whom the public cauſe has been ſo manfully defended, has removed all doubts and jealouſies, and has united in one lawful and vigorous combination all the friends to Parliamentary Reform. Let us not only avail ourſelves of the aſſiſtance of every friend, but endeavour to convert every enemy to our ſyſtem. Let us cultivate univerſal benevolence and never entertain a thought of vindictive retribution unleſs when authoriſed by the cleareſt juſtice and the moſt indiſputable policy. Every one of us ſhould now take a decided part. The daſtard only will be neutral in ſuch times as theſe.

I own I am one of thoſe who have long ſincerely wiſhed for peace with the French

French Republic, and for a complete reform in every department of our Government to be obtained by gradual means, by almoſt univerſal conſent and without the ſlighteſt alloy of evil. I believed and ſtill believe ſuch a reform was at one time attainable if the miniſter had poſſeſſed moderation and wiſdom. Falſe alarm, and frantic fear, and unfounded calumny would have fled at the return of peace. Confidence would have been reſtored amongſt our fellow-citizens, reaſon would have re-aſſumed her ſway, liberty would have triumphed, and the ſyſtem of miniſterial corruption would have been ſubverted without cruſhing or injuring any thing valuable in its fall. Full of theſe pleaſing imaginations I rejoiced at the firſt embaſſy of Lord Malmeſbury to Francc, and believed for a time that the Miniſter was ſincere in what I thought the beſt meaſure for ſaving not only his Country but his head. I was extremely ſolicitous for peace upon almoſt any terms, as the termination of the greateſt calamities that had ever fallen upon Europe, and the foundation of the certain, ſpeedy, and tranquil emancipation of the whole civilized world. The Liberty thus obtained would undoubtedly have been preferable

ferable to that which might be introduced to us through the medium of war; (I mean through the embarraſſments which war occaſions.) In the company of Bellona, Liberty does not always become a more amiable divinity. To obtain her peaceful ſmiles, and the unnumbered bleſſings which ſhe diffuſes in the ſeaſon of tranquillity, it was the duty of every good Citizen to further the apparent deſigns of the Miniſter at the time of which I am ſpeaking, and to endeavour to remove all impediments and embaraſſments that might prevent the attainment of the invaluable object he appeared to purſue. But his ſubſequent conduct demonſtrates, in my opinion, the inſincerity of all his pacific profeſſions. He is utterly incurable. Great Britain or he muſt fall; he has left us no option but to ſubmit implicitly to his ruinous ſyſtem or attack it by the moſt energetic means permitted by the law.—We muſt chooſe between evils; and every Citizen ought inſtantly to make his election. For my part I am decidedly of opinion that no political evils can equal thoſe of a corrupt and tyrannical Government firmly eſtabliſhed.

To

To conclude: Let meaſures be inſtantly adopted to emancipate our Iriſh Brethren. Away with all pitiful, temporizing projects! Let the people of Ireland be inſtantly reſtored to all their rights as men and as a nation. Let his Majeſty go in perſon to ſuperintend the work of deliverance. Let him inſtantly diſſolve that Parliament that has oppreſſed and calumniated his faithful people, and cauſe to be elected another, by a free, equal and univerſal participation of the right of ſuffrage. Let him then with a magnanimity that will ſecure him immortal honor, propoſe the meaſures that have ſo long been called for in Ireland by the public voice. Let him recommend univerſal religious freedom, (*not toleration*) and Parliamentary Reform in its fulleſt ſenſe; let him cauſe juſtice to be done on all traitors and murderers, and beſtow their confiſcated property on the families whom they may have ruined; let him ſecure the brave and loyal peaſants againſt the oppreſſion of their exacting landlords, by perpetual leaſes at moderate rents. Let him releaſe our fellow citizens from the impoſition of tythes;—It is not right that any man ſhould be compelled to ſupport a religion of which he is

not

not a member, and from which he derives no benefit: but that a whole people, as in Ireland, ſhould be obliged to maintain at an enormous expence the miniſters and the culture of a ſect which does not embrace a tenth part of that people, is outrageous injuſtice. If a religion muſt be eſtabliſhed, ſurely it ſhould be the religion of the majority.—Let his Majeſty alſo cauſe the act of renunciation to be ſtrictly adhered to, in the letter and the ſpirit; that is, let his Majeſty preſerve in full force and dignity, the independent, ſovereign, imperial rights of the kingdom of Ireland. To the violation of this Statute, (which declared Ireland to be an independent State) are to be imputed, all the calamities that have fallen on my unhappy country for ſome years paſt, and all that now impend over the Britiſh Empire. Ireland, independent, would be to Great Britain a faithful and powerful Ally during war; colonial Ireland is a diverſion in favor of the Enemy, and may ſupply him with the means of conquering this country. Ireland, independent, would in time of peace afford a rich and ample market for the productions of Engliſh induſtry; ſince Ireland would then

enjoy

enjoy an unreſtricted commerce and her agriculture would flouriſh, when delivered from grinding abſentee-landlords and harpy tythe-proctors; Colonial Ireland is as uſeleſs to Great Britain in peace as in war. It is the neceſſary policy of the minority, to whom England entruſts the Government, to keep down the great maſs of the people, and conſequently to prevent the proſperity and wealth they would enjoy if they were protected and favored.

The ſituation of Ireland under the fangs of the Proteſtant Aſcendency is notorious. Except in one or two counties ſhe had no manufactures; ſhe had not the right, (now poſſeſſed by every creek, and fiſhing town of the American States,) of ſending a ſhip beyond the limits preſcribed by the monopoliſts of Leadenhall-ſtreet: Her agriculture lay neglected; the wretchedneſs and idleneſs of her peaſantry were proverbial: They were wretched becauſe they were ſlaves, and they were idle becauſe they were wretched. They had no incentive to induſtry; their minds were broken down to their ſituation; they had no enjoyment except in drowning reflection, or in the oblivion

vion of their exiſtence. Their melancholy ſtate is to be attributed wholly to the oppreſſions of the Colonial Government. Look at theſe very men, when under every difficulty and diſadvantage, (frequently as redemptioners,) they emigrate to America. There they inſtantly become diligent and induſtrious; for there they are free, and they knew they will enjoy the fruits of their labour.—I rejoice however to find they are greatly changed in their own country ſince I left it. With inexpreſſible pleaſure I hear that they are devoted to the cauſe of civil and religious liberty; that they think for themſelves and inveſtigate the natural and ſocial rights of man; that from being irregular and volatile, they are become ſerious and ſteady; and that they have relinquiſhed the uſe of ſpirituous liquors. Perſevere, brave countrymen, in every lawful effort for the recovery of your freedom. Think not that your friends on this ſide of the Channel have forgotten you, or are indifferent to your welfare. No, we are labouring for you by every poſſible legal method: We ſhall not ceaſe to urge your rights, to aſſiſt your friends, (who are alſo the true friends of Great Britain,) and as

far

far as the law will allow us, to counteract the nefarious projects of your enemies. We reſpect your courage, we honor your perſeverance, but we adore the fidelity and conſtancy under which you have ſo long ſuffered, and which will crown your efforts with ſucceſs and yourſelves with eternal glory.

To purſue my idea relative to the act of renunciation: The American States have been of infinitely more advantage to this country in a commercial view ſince the ſeparation than they were before; the reaſon is obvious:—they have become more populous and wealthy, becauſe they are better protected by their own Government than they could be by the Government of any other country. If this ſeparation had taken place amicably, inſtead of having been obtained by a long and cruel war, there is no doubt but the American Republic would have been the ſtrongeſt and beſt Ally of Great Britain at this day. Notwithſtanding all that has happened, the ſimilarity of manners, Government and language, and the remembrance of old connexions have diſpoſed (certainly in a moſt extraordinary

manner) the American States to be more favorable to their former inveterate enemy than to that nation to whoſe valor and generoſity they are indebted for their independence.

It is not for a reform in the Government of theſe Countries only that I look at preſent. I am not without hopes of living to ſee the emancipation of almoſt all the nations of the earth. Some politicians of my acquaintance are continually afflicting themſelves at the general aſpect of affairs: they bode nothing but wretchedneſs to mankind: they almoſt abandon the idea that Europe can be free and happy.—For my part, I am not thus deſponding, although not ignorant of the evils that neceſſarily accompany every great change in the condition of the world. Is it reaſonable to deſpair becauſe the enjoyments of tranquillity are not found in the midſt of warfare? Are we juſtified in expecting that all the bleſſings of liberty can be experienced in the midſt of conflicting factions, and in a ſtate little removed from civil war? Shall we be terrified becauſe exceſſes have been committed by perſons previouſly corrupted by ſlavery and

and ſuperſtition? Is it to be expected that the nature of man ſhall be changed in an inſtant? Certainly not.—When liberty is firmly eſtabliſhed in the world, there will be no more conſpiracies for its ſubverſion, and we ſhall not ſee any exceſſes like thoſe which proceeded from the exaſperation that ſuch conſpiracies produced. The general mind will be tranquillized, and peace and happineſs will be the inſeparable companions of liberty. —Yes I will indulge the delicious hope that within the period of my life the triumph of freedom may be complete; that her ſtandards may wave on the ramparts of Mexico and the mountains of Peru; that the Negro, as well as the European, may enjoy the produce of his induſtry, and the illuminations of knowledge; that ſcience and laws may reviſit the banks of the Nile, and temples to liberty be conſtructed from the ruins of Thebes and Memphis; that the natives of the interior of Africa, from Mauritania to Caffraria, and from Senegambia to the Arabian ſea may be delivered from their own tyrants, and the more abominable wretches who urge them to enſlave and ſell their people; that the city and the Iſland of Archimedes may be redeemed from

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ignorance; that all Greece may be reſtored to liberty, learning and glory; that Sparta may revive under the guidance of a new and more enlightened Lycurgus; that Thebes may furniſh another ſacred band to vie with their deliverers in virtuous renown; that Athens may re-eſtabliſh her philoſophic Thrones, and again invoke the Divinity of Wiſdom; that the Indian world may be protected againſt both the native and the European robber: in a word, that the Sun in his whole courſe may not behold a tyrant or a ſlave.

THE END.

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